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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*manusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth; there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábûg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deń* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tāyyén* and the *takowáń*. The *tāyyén* (pronounced *tāyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowáń* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá* usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítan*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggág* (a kind of molave), the *bańlát*, the *kanúmay* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáń*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217, fig. 36.

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Besides, two small pieces (*alita-tá-* or *lita-tá-*), usually of bamboo, on either side of the tang, keep the latter from moving to and fro between the two points of the head of the helve (cf. figs. 1 and 2).

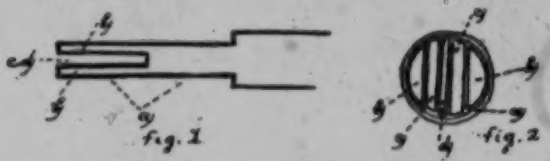

Fig. 1. Head of Helve (longitudinal section)

a, Place of *palábo* or iron ring; *b*, projecting points of the head; *c d*, place of the two *alita-tá-* and the tang or *otán*.

Fig. 2. Head of Helve (cross section)

a, *Palábo* or iron ring; *b*, projecting points of the head; *c*, *alita-tá-* or short pieces of bamboo; *d*, tang or *otán*.

The upper part of the blade is prolonged at the back (*páñat*) into an obtuse point or *sáwit*, and at the edge (*ñárab*) into a diminutive sharp one (*simtó-*). Both the upper (*paráto-*) and lower edges are generally straight, except in the *badáñ*-type of *aliwá*, which has no lower edge.[6] The *badáñ* (called *badón* when very large) has a deeply concave back, while the back of the *binarawad* is almost straight.[7] The lower part of the sharp edge of the *badáñ*, namely that part of the edge that more or less bulges out, is called *pátul*. The part of the blade at the edge that has been tempered, is called *soobó*, and an *aliwá* that shows no line of demarcation between the tempered part and the rest of the blade, is called *pinadlós*.

It goes without saying that not all Isneg hatchets are of the same quality. Some are excellent, for instance the *pinagsdy*, which has a very shining blade, called "white" by the natives. Others are of a very poor quality, for instance the *pannál*, whose edge is easily nicked whenever it strikes comparatively hard timber. However, the Isneg is really provident when there is question of his all-important head-axe, and so he usually takes a spare one with him, a *takám*, whenever he has to make intense use of it, in any kind of work that is liable to keep him away from home for a considerable part of the day.

[6] Cf. op. cit., p. 233, fig. 69.

[7] Cf. op. cit., p. 233, fig. 68.

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What has been said of the *aliwá* or hatchet as a man's tool, may also be said of the *ikó* as a woman's tool: no Isneg woman goes to work without her *ikó*, which is nothing else but a diminutive headaxe, usually of the *binarawád*-type, and which she carries stuck in her headband. While she makes use of several other implements, as the occasion demands, the *ikó* is the only one that is almost constantly needed.

The handle of the *ikó* is ordinarily made of wood, like the helve of the *aliwá*,[8] but there are a few women who make use of the *kiraddán*, which is all iron. The latter type of *ikó* has a curved handle, and its ring or *palábo* is mostly spherical, instead of being cylindrical like that of the ordinary *ikó* and of the *aliwá* or headaxe.

Some of these *ikó* are exceedingly small, the length of the blade (not its breadth) being about one half of that of an ordinary penknife: these are called *paílot*. A small *ikó* that is very old and has seen much service, is called *pakúrat*: its handle is always made of wood, and consequently straight.

Other implements used by Isneg women will be treated in their proper place.

When an Isneg woman works in the field, she is rarely seen without her *sarikaw*, which is a very broad hat, sometimes one yard or more in diameter, almost flat, and more or less resembling a native winnow. The *sarikaw* is made of plaited palm leaves trimmed with strips of bamboo or of rattan or of both.

In order to avoid tedious repetitions I think it not amiss to give here a short description of the *inapúxan* or betel for chewing, which the Isneg frequently offer to the spirits and which I shall have to mention again and again in the course of this paper. The ordinary *inapúxan* as used by the Isneg, consists of a section of betel nut (*bowá*) and a sprinkling of lime (*ápug*) enveloped in a piece of betel leaf (*xawád*), while the one offered to the spirits, although essentially the same, has a few special characteristics.

When preparing *inapúxan* for the spirits, instead of using ripe betel nuts, which are the only ones fit for chewing, the Isneg choose a bunch of immature nuts (*lúsit*), and these they cut into tiny pieces (*riñgám*), which are much smaller than those used for betel chewed by man. The lime is the same as that used in ordinary *inapúxan*:

[8] Cf. op. cit.

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A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

A few seeds of *laññá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disól* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *maḍiliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggí-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . ān*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómān*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *añumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tari-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *zádaṅ*.

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The *paló-* or hoe consists of a wooden handle (*olówăn* or *tokólăn*) and an iron blade (fig. 4). The handle is simply a wooden stick

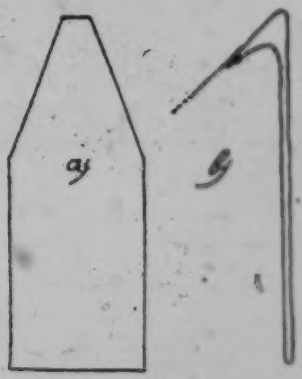

FIG. 4. *Paló-* OR HOE

a, Blade (about ½ natural size); *b*, handle (about ⅛ natural size).

curved at one end into a sharp angle. Its straight part is usually about half a yard long, while the hook or curved part measures some five inches or less, forming an angle of some twenty-five degrees more or less: it is cut in its entirety from the branch of a tree, without any artificial curving. The wood used for the purpose is that of the *tañtañó*, a shrub that grows abundantly on river banks and bears white flowers and small cuplike fruits, of the *kasizdy*, which furnishes a very hard timber, or of the *băyábat* or guava.

The blade, which is straight, consists of a thin piece of iron, rectangular in shape, except for the upper end which tapers into a more or less narrow point or tang. The latter is laid over the hook of the handle, at the outside, and fastened to it with a narrow iron ring, supplied with a pin or wedge if necessary.

A hoe with a blade that is remarkably small is called *lassíń* or *papalassíń*, but its shape and texture is the same as that of the ordinary *paló-*.

The *saguwá-* is a kind of dibble that consists of a wooden handle (*tokólăn* or *olówăn*) and an iron blade. It is straight throughout, and usually about one yard long, sometimes less. The blade is generally about half a yard long, and the handle a little shorter; should the blade measure only one foot, the handle will be much longer in pro-

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412 portion. The blade consists in a thin piece of iron, about two inches broad over its whole length, sharp at one end, and provided at the opposite end with a hollow socket that encloses the end of the handle. The handle is made of any kind of wood. The *saguwá-* is used for planting (*magtognó, tognowán*) rice and Indian corn.

The *zádań* is another kind of dibble which consists merely of a straight stick of hard wood, about one yard long and pointed at one end. It is used, like the *saguwá-*, for planting rice and Indian corn.

243 415 When the Isneg woman goes planting, she also takes along a receptacle for seeds, called *tupáń*, which is just an ordinary *dúyog* or coconut shell. She ties it somewhere at her waist in such a way as to be easily reached with the left hand. The *tupáń* is used for holding seeds of rice or Indian corn.

The *tarimmatóń* or sign for the *agtotognó* (time of planting) is the appearance of the *biyóń* or pods of the *tablán* or coral tree, which has been mentioned formerly under the same circumstances. As soon as the coral tree is covered with fruits the Isneg woman understands that it is time for her to confide the *aggi-* (seeds) of rice to the soil.

Planting is done like this: the woman holds the dibble (*saguwá-* or *zádań*) in her right hand and bores a hole (*magtuná-*) in the ground; at the same time she gets a few seeds (usually three) from the *tupáń*-cup and drops them into the hole, with her left hand; then she covers the hole and fills it up with her right foot. The whole work is done standing, and if any kind of stooping is necessary, it is very slight, so that an experienced planter can finish a large plot in a comparatively short time. The holes are usually bored in such a way as to form more or less parallel rows (*tarintén*), which are rarely straight: the only aim of the woman is to render subsequent work in the field easy for herself and safe for the plants. The distance between the plants is mostly about one foot (*tańadapán*): if the planter is still a novice, she measures the distance with one of her feet, while experienced planters scorn to do so.

243 782 As soon as the *agtotognó* or time of planting has come, the Isneg merely waits for a favorable opportunity to begin the work. In some places, at Bayag for instance, the man or the woman goes to the field on the day that precedes the *alópaṭ* (which will be described presently) in order to perform the *agpaáyab*, which has been mentioned before in connection with the *si-dúg* (burning). Once there, a few grains of rice are thrown into the field, and one of the following prayers is recited:

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *luoban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

252 412 [845] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

The cats and dogs are kept fed and are treated more as pets by the Apayaos than by most Orientals. The women refuse to eat the flesh of the dog at feasts. All the livestock are treated kindly. The men work industriously while at it; but take plenty of time for leisure and companionship. They could all become relatively wealthy in this land of plenty but are usually content with enough to satisfy their simple wants; and thus they might be called well-to-do.

The general utility tool is the *aliwa*: a thin-bladed, somewhat rhombic-shaped axe with the back point drawn out. Another type is sort of cleaver shaped and is called a *badang*. The head is affixed to a well-shaped hardwood handle. It is nicely balanced and a very handy tool. The man carries this axe, *aliwa*, with him everywhere. It is used for all cutting purposes. The blacksmiths do excellent work. Hard stone anvils and hammers are used. The bellows are two hollow wooden cylinders set on end. They are fitted with feather-ringed pistons pumped alternately by the blacksmith's helper, giving a steady forced draft on the fire. Smiths have been manufacturing *aliwas*, spear heads, hoes, and other implements here, from time immemorial.

The primitive method of fishing is to dive down in a deep pool in the river where the fish are lying. Down there, they are not frightened by another body; so a good fisherman can grab one in each hand. However, a short, light, barbed arrow shot from a bamboo bow is generally used. During the dry season a pool in the stream may be drained and the fish picked up. Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 242]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con- [784]
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [442]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the